1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipanz and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[1]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[1] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences around legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the inland and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	33	c. 5.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huenchoual	109	88	c. 1.1 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the aborigines who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female radicados (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of matrilineal relatives. He is considered a radicado only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his matrilineal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated, a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his matrilineal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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In the Lumaila region yields are somewhat higher than in the Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

All the land in the Lumaila region was once heavily wooded. There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calaiquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a number of the Mapuche -- an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request for division. The reservation had been without an effective chief for several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief. There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation N. Nahuelpan - Analyst]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *minga*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *minga* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *minga* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *minga* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *minga* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Minga* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Minga* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *minga* are clear. *Minga* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 621 425 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 627 578 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 182 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-